THE WOMAN'S
DREADNOUGHT

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WHY SHOULD ANY WORKMAN FIGHT?

AN EAST END WORKER'S VIEW.

To the "enlightened" members of the British Workers' League, who met at the Assembly Hall, Mile End, on the 12th inst., under the auspices of their unscrupulous leaders, to discuss the Alien Bill.

WORKERS AND WAGE SLAVES.

According to the local journals, I have in mind the "East London Observer and Eastern Post," (which are merely repetitions on a small scale of the reptile Northcliffe Press, and consequently are anti-Semitic, not overburdened with truth telling and straightforwardness), a feeling of grave dissatisfaction is encompassing the East Enders' owing to Englishmen having to join up while foreigners are allowed to go scot-free, and have in some cases taken over businesses abandoned by Englishmen. I agree that where a business has been taken over an undesirable state of affairs has been created—indeed, it is easy to understand the feeling of hostility between Gentile and Jew that these circumstances would bring into existence.

Have you ever paused to ask yourself "What are we fighting for? Perhaps you will be surprised if I say that nothing in this terrible conflict in any way justifies you entering it—that you have nothing in common with its objects. Never, have I been able to understand why workmen, English or foreign, should have to fight. I maintain that this bloodthirsty struggle is the outcome of the scheming, aggression, and avarice of the master and capitalist class the world over. You working men are till this very day urged to be patriotic and fight for your country. Poor deluded fools! What do you possess in this country which to-day it suits the capitalist to tell you is yours? You don't possess the food productive land, or the machinery which you are content to operate for weary hours in building up huge profits for your masters. You don't possess the hovel, or if you are a competent wage slave the house you live in—on the contrary, you pay ridiculous sums for its use—all you possess, and no more, is the cloth upon your backs. Miserable workers! when are you going to see that to-day you are merely tools in the hands of the capitalist class for whose interests you are fighting? Have you forgotten that these monsters forced you, prior to the War, to eke out a miserable existence by sweating you in unsuitable and ill-ventilated workshops, and forced you also to confine yourselves with your emaciated and under-fed families in holes called home, where the germs of fever, consumption and despair bred in millions and took terrible toll of your young?

To-day these very same capitalists, whose bellies and purses are well lined, and who know no want, entreat you to eat less bread which you can very well do because this commodity has been raised to such a price that you find difficulty in obtaining it with your meagre wages, and further, it is to-day so unpalatable and unhealthy that you have perforce to eat less to save yourselves pain and injury.

Does Lord Devonport, the late Food Controller, suffer from the bad effects of the War bread? I should think not. It is without question very generous on his part to forego his weekly ration of uneatable bread as he undoubtedly does, in favour of the poor. I wonder whether Mrs. Devonport was ever seen in a butter, sugar, or potato queue.

And that arch humbug, Lord Derby, who is deeply inspired with love of country (with good cause) and radiates patriotism unto his very limbs, tells us aliens that we will fare badly if we refuse to aid him and his class in their nefarious work. Should Lord Derby read this, and I do hope he does, I would suggest to the Rt. Hon. Gentleman that as he appears so much in earnest in seeing justice, liberty, and civilisationr triumph, he should immediately discard this mantle of inconsistency and join up himself. Surely the late Director General of Recruiting is acquainted with the whereabouts of the recruiting office. Being hale and hearty, and withal great of girth, due to a good living at the expense of the poor ignorant wage slaves, his lordship need have no difficulty in getting into the regiment of his choice. Of course, it'll be "a sorter" inconvenience for his lordship to have to "rub shoulders" with the common working man, but I am sure this will have no influence on this great nobleman. He will steel his heart in helping to crush the enemy, he will always see before him the beacon light which shall shine on the objects of Freedom and Liberty, and forsooth with increasing radiance on the figure of exploitation and capitalism.

Working men, your enemies are not the German people, as your rulers would have you believe—your real foes are here within your midst. Help to overthrow the capitalist class by joining some Socialistic organisation and so educating yourself. In conclusion, be wary in accepting anything in the reactionary press which to-day "stinks" of lies and hypocrisy.

Awake! hasten on the social revolution. It will come! It must come!

JOHN LIZEROVITCH.

210 Oxford Street, Stepney, E.1.

MISS RANKIN

We asked our readers to congratulate Miss Jeannette Rankin, the woman member of the American Congress, on her vote for peace. Miss Henrietta Leslie took our advice, and received the following reply:—

"House of Representatives, U.S.,
"Washington, D.C.

"Dear Miss Leslie,—Your letter brought me much pleasure and encouragement, and I wish to thank you for writing as you did. My vote was a protest against war for the women of the future. Since I hardly dared to hope that the women of the warring nations would understand my position, it has been particularly gratifying to know your attitude. It is indeed an inspiration to feel your sympathy in this grave crisis, and I wish to assure you of my deep appreciation of your great kindness.—Faithfully,

"JEANNETTE RANKIN."

Of Special Interest This Week!

TO STOP AIR RAIDS—STOP THE WAR

By E. SYLVIA PANKHURST

HANDS OFF THE PEOPLE'S FOOD

"Out of his own folly, self-will and fear, man has created a great image of Mars, whose shadow darkens the whole earth."

—From the Yearly Meeting Epistle of the Society of Friends, 1917.

THE WOMAN'S DREADNOUGHT

Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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Vol. IV. No. 16 Sat., July 14th, 1917

TO STOP THE AIR RAIDS, STOP THE WAR.

"Oh, look there!" "Look there—over the houses!" "Are they ours?" "Are they ours?" Everyone in the 'bus was clamouring to know. And there in the north-eastern sky was a flock of aeroplanes. So many they seemed, one could scarcely believe one's eyes. They were as many as a flight of birds migrating in the autumn, but they had not, like birds, a joyous rippling motion: they were machine-driven, of sinister aspect, steady and deliberate in their approach. Some were monoplanes, others biplanes, and one could plainly see their shape silhouetted in dark grey on the white fleecy mists of the sky; but the bright light, their motion and ours, and the chimneys of the houses made it difficult to count their actual number. People ran for cover to the neighbouring doorways, then peered out curiously, uncertain as to whether the oncoming host were composed of friends or foes.

"Do you think they are ours? Oh, do you think so?" the women in the 'bus kept asking each other. The girl conductor admonished them cheerily, "Don't get excited: no use asking: no use being frightened." The driver sped on, and as we turned the corner the girl exclaimed: "Oh, look at him: he's left his 'bus!" Then we saw that all down the centre of the road were 'buses, trams and horse-drawn vehicles driverless and unattended. The horses stood motionless: save for them and ourselves, the street was empty of living things. The driver shook his head in impatient protest, refusing to stop when the conductor jerked her bell; but suddenly all the people rose, and he was forced to pause as they jumped out, helter skelter and ran for cover. "——— Street Station! ——— Street Station!" the conductor called to the driver. He started off, swerving uncomfortably in his haste. Loud reports were crashing in the air around us as we left the 'bus and ran through the empty street to the railway station. The trains had stopped. People were hurrying to the subway, and beneath it, to a brewery cellar. Waitresses from neighbouring tea shops, cooks from the hotel in white overalls, people of all sorts were congregated here. An old woman was weeping piteously. "You are quite safe, quite safe," people assured her; but she answered, "Oh, my children!" "I thought they looked as though they were over W——— or L———," someone said. "Don't say there," a lad sadly protested; "that's my home."

Soon it was over. The trains were running again, and the stream of people poured on as before. London, as a whole, was untouched; only in patches were left acutest misery and despair. An aerial torpedo had fallen where our 'bus had last stopped to let down the impatient passengers. Bombs and torpedoes had fallen on certain city offices, but, worse still, and as usual, destruction had fallen in the densely-populated streets where several families are crowded into each house.

The mangled remains of cheap furniture, the shreds of curtains and clothing show dismally in the heaps of fallen bricks. In one street a bomb that fell on the pavement has torn up the iron railings and flung them against the two neighbouring houses. The doors of these houses have disappeared and jagged holes are left in their stead. Opposite and half-way down the street on either side, window frames are torn out, ceilings have fallen, and the walls are pitted with holes. Barriers are erected across the street, but the people slip under them and stray about between them. The police guarding the chiefly damaged houses make no protest. The women gaze on the ruins with horror-stricken faces, despair and terror look out of their eyes. They seem to be half-stunned, and wear a look of utter weariness. "They oughtn't to come to poor people's homes; they should go to Buckingham Palace and places like that," a woman exclaims bitterly. "Germany's having it much worse than this," a workman says. "When will it all end?" we ask. He answers, laconically: "I couldn't prophesy." For the most part the people are silent, or speak in whispers to those they know. They are reluctant to talk with strangers. The voluble Londoners are changed; fear hangs over them; fear of the sky above, fear of gossiping tongues and violence and looting, fear of spies?

Two old women, neighbours of long standing, give kindly greeting to each other. The one stands at the door of her house: its window frames are gone and in great patches the laths of its walls and ceilings are laid bare. The house o the other has been demolished; she and her husband have been taken in by her married daughter, whose home was already over-crowded before their advent. "We must get out of there soon," she says; "but there is nowhere else to go: all the houses are crowded." The other old woman tells her that the tenants of the opposite houses have been given a fortnight's notice to quit as the foundations are shaken, and the buildings may collapse. In many neighbouring streets also several families are obliged to quit. Where are they to go? what is to happen to them in this over-crowded district? Someone suggests that the Government should build huts like those constructed for the soldiers. "Oh, yes! Anything, anything!" the women plead. Anything will do so that a roof may cover their heads. They are not exacting, for they have never known beauty or comfort in their surroundings.

A furniture van drives up, and with heaving and swaying, stops, rear foremost, in front of one of the battered houses. A man comes out to speak to the driver, and the two old women next door whisper together: "They won't be able to leave, not without paying a fortnight's rent." Rent! Rent! Though the walls fall in and the ceilings come crashing upon one's head, one may not leave till the rent is paid!

In a near-by street the entire front of two houses with part of their side walls and almost all the roof and flooring have fallen away, and are lying, a heap of laths and bricks, in the centre of the road. The wretched hovels have crashed down like matchboarding. Their front walls were only one brick in thickness, and the party-walls only a brick and a half; the floors of the upper rooms so thin that one wonders how they supported their inmates.

RIOTING.

In cosmopolitan London people of many nationalities endured the terrors and risks of last Saturday's air raid. In face of the common danger and misfortune, we all should comfort each other, but a harsh and cruel spirit is abroad, and when the danger of the air raid had passed over, those unfortunate people who happen to possess foreign names or a foreign appearance found a new terror awaiting them.

The sensational papers are full of demands for reprisals. In some of the streets of greatest destruction old posters are on the walls announcing a meeting convened by the "Daily Express" to demand reprisals. From a string stretched across the street hangs a little Union Jack and a strip of calico, roughly inscribed, "We demand reprisals."

In some of the streets what is called rioting is going on; but it is scarcely that. Little bands of children, with an occasional adult, are trailing around, smashing occasional shop windows, usually, but not always, those over which there is a foreign name, or where the shopkeepers are known, or thought, to be foreigners. If not driven off, the youngsters do not stop at window-breaking, but entering the premises smash or steal all that they can see.

This is no genuine expression of popular feeling; few people stop to watch the destruction; many hurry away as though from something shameful and unpleasant. Obviously someone is engineering this so-called rioting. Little boys are heard to tell that gentlemen have paid them 6d. each "to do in the Jews' shops." The average working woman condemns the business. In the 'bus and by the road side one hears her say: "It's a lot of rot: it's all done for looting, and we shall have to pay for it in the rates!"

But the looting and destruction which goes on unchecked is a serious menace to little shopkeepers. A husband and wife, typically English, with an ordinary English name, who keep a lock-up furniture shop, were threatened by a band of destroying children because one of them thought he saw dim traces of a foreign name on a board high up on the corner of the premises, and because it was suggested that the superior landlord might be a German. The husband and wife were afraid to leave their shop at the usual time for closing. A Russian baker's was attacked, but the police drove the children off before much damage had been done. The shopkeepers have posted up a large notice stating that they are Russians and have relatives in the Army, and displaying a passport and even photographs of relatives in khaki to prove this. But a woman marches into the shop and says: "That passport is no use to you; a naturalisation certificate is no use to you. The people believe you have been put in here as managers for the Germans." The cruel folly of this assertion should be clear to the neighbours, who know that the late occupants of the shop were humble working people, the old parents of German birth who came to this country in early life, the son, a middle-aged, lame man, born in Hoxton.

The poor Russian shopkeeper, expecting soon again to be a mother, gazes at her informant in mute despair. And we are told that we entered the War to fight for Belgium, to protect defenceless people whose homes were in danger. The defenceless women of other nationalities who are in our midst know only too well how to rate such professions!

REPRISALS.

In all the trains and 'buses going east and west—Oh, do not think such opinions are confined to poor people in the East End—one hears demands for "reprisals," and the amazing statement is made that the way to stop the German air raiders from dropping bombs on London is to drop bombs on German towns! Yet amongst the very headlines in which Monday morning's newspapers announced the most startling points of last Saturday's raid one saw these words:—

"During Friday night no fewer than 84 Allied airmen made extensive raids into German territory, dropping huge quantities of bombs on Treves, Ludwigshafen, Coblentz, and Essen"

Even the "Daily News," Jingo though it has shown itself, has the candour to admit that the British air raid on Freiburg took place before the German raids on London, and was actually undertaken by way of reprisals. The "News" says:

"We raided Freiburg as a reprisal for the sinking of a hospital ship. The Germans are still sinking hospital ships. The German Government instituted the submarine campaign, nominally at any rate, as a reprisal for the British blockade of Germany. The great French air raid on eleven German towns last Friday night was undertaken as a reprisal for German bombardments of French open towns. The German despatches repeatedly describe these attacks as being made in reprisal for previous air raids on their cities."

How, then, can it be said that reprisals can stop the Germain air raids?

But how dishonestly hypocritical are both the Government and the men who foment the reprisal cry and the cruel reprisal attacks on defenceless people! They prate of bombing only places of military importance and towns that are fortified. Is not London a place of military importance: are there not extensive munition factories and stores of military equipment here? Is not London the headquarters of the British military machine? Is not London fortified? The only means of protecting a city from bombs hurled from aircraft are anti-aircraft guns and aircraft. The Government assures us that London is thus fortified!

Whether they are called "reprisals" or not; whether they are, or are not, called successful, air raids on German towns no better fortified than London is, have frequently been made. Reprisals cannot stop the air raids, nothing can save us from the risk of them, except to stop the War. Whilst the War continues Londoners will be safer, if, instead of roving about the Continent a large number of airmen are kept in and around London to prevent the raiders from reaching the City. But the sky is wide; one cannot people it with airmen as thickly as it is studded with the countless stars. Therefore, in misty weather, hostile aircraft will frequently evade any number of patrols, and once the German craft are over London the very act of attacking them must cause destruction to the buildings and people below.

A woman in the 'bus bitterly demanded reprisals. Her husband and only child had been killed in the War. Someone told her that the newspapers had reported that 84 Allied airmen had raided German towns the day before the German airmen came here. She answered: "You can't believe what you see in the papers. My boy took the paper from me and burnt it: 'it's all wicked lies, mother,' he said." Poor lad, he was probably protesting against just such bitter nonsense as that which his mother was allowing to sway her now, for in her cry for reprisals she was but repeating the mad counsels of the most irresponsible sensational Press: the Press that cares neither for truth, nor justice, nor human lives, provided the paper sells.

Stop the War, stop the War, that is the only way to stop the air raids, the only way to save the lives of brothers, sons, and husbands, the only way to stop the misery and hunger that is falling upon the people.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

THE TRAIL OF THE WAR

A TORTURE PIT.

James Brightmore has written from the Pit, D Company, Cleethorpes, 3rd Manchester Regiment, two further letters—one to his aunt and one to a friend :—

"I was standing ankle deep in mud and water for four days in a hole 12ft. deep. Then they gave me two strips of wood a couple of inches broad to stand on, and there was constantly a foot of water at least below me. If ever I missed my footing in climbing down the damp clay walls the consequence was—well, it is obvious. Everything came to grief in that hole. Beetles fell in it, wasps and bees visited me, a mouse fell in and was drowned. I left it there until I found the smell offensive. How horrible it was you may guess. The beetles swimming about fighting for life as I was fighting, climbing the slippery walls and falling into the water again. Everything seemed doomed to death.

"I was told definitely by high non-commissioned officers that the five lads had all been shot. (These were the five sent over to France from Cleethorpes on June 9th. The information was not, of course, correct). . . . On Monday morning I was taken up before the Company Officer for kit inspection for the draft. While waiting I had to stand about an hour's persuasion from the Company Sergeant-Major, who told me I would be shot like a dog when I got to France. I believed him—in fact two soldiers going over with the draft had promised to 'see me off' when we got over there, so that between the soldiers, the Germans, and the military law I was pretty certain of it."

Brightmore was left under the impression that he was to be taken to France until the draft was actually moving off. In spite of his belief that he was being taken to his death he did not give in, and he is now in the detention barracks awaiting the District Court-martial, which he ought legally to have been awarded in the first instance when he refused all military orders.

ANOTHER C.O. MURDERED.

Dear Editor,—The solitary confinement and torture of silence in prison has just resulted in the death of a young Conscientious Objector. Last September this boy was arrested and taken to a camp near Salisbury, where he was duly court-martialled and sent to Wormwood Scrubbs. He was only 22 years of age, quiet and of fine physique, but of a highly strung disposition. The severe prison régime affected him mentally, and at last drove him out of his mind. In December last he was removed to Epsom Lunatic Asylum, where he has since paid the penalty for the faith that was in him. He based his claim for absolute exemption purely on religious grounds, and had boundless enthusiasm for his beliefs. Is it sufficiently realised that the Military Service Act would not have passed the House of Commons had there not been inserted in it the clause exempting a "C.O." from all forms of combatant and non-combatant duties when nothing else would meet the case? The sense of justice of the English people must surely need reawakening, if they are content to allow the Government to play false to the spirit of the Act above quoted. All of the men in prison who are serving their second, third, and fourth sentences, have definitely proved the sincerity of their beliefs, and these morally strong, high-principled, unselfish men are those we now are most needing to serve the cause of suffering humanity. They are anxious to do this, and, in fact, by remaining in prison and refusing to condone military and industrial conscription, are assisting in conferring on the children of the present day and the generations to come a future free of the uncertainty and brutality of war. Granting that the Absolutists are content to suffer for the sake of a fairer horizon, dare we outside, who can appreciate their supreme courage, accept their sacrifice without making every possible effort to have them released from imprisonment that they may actively and freely serve the people for whom they are ready to lay down their lives?

"Greater love hath no man." The spirit of Alfred Eungblut still lives and re-inspires us to stronger determination and fresh enthusiasm for the cause of most permanent worth—Peace, justice and liberty. "It is not death to die for freedom."—Yours, etc., CHRISTINE GREGORY.

DEFRAUDING A SOLDIER'S WIDOW.

On May 23rd the Secretary of the National League of Rights applied on behalf of a soldier's widow for the increased pension to which the last Royal Warrant entitled her, and received the following letter :—

Pension Issue Office,
Baker Street,
London, W.
June 14th.

In reply to your letter of the 23rd May, I am to acquaint you that Mrs. ——, wife of —— is in receipt of a pension of 28s. 3d. for herself, and three shillings (apparently this should be children). The above amount is made up as follows:—

10s. for herself.
5s. for her first child.
3s. 6d. for her second child.
2s. 4d. for her third child.
7s. 9d., which represents dependant's allowance and allotment in respect of her nephew.

I am to add that under the New Royal Warrant widows in receipt of dependant's allowance and allotment do not get any increased pension, *except in a few specified cases.*

The Secretary (Hon.), 400 Old Ford Road,
Bow, E. *W. J.*

The italicised words were added in a hand-writing different from that in the body of letter. The letter was written upon Pension Form 13, on which a space for reply is provided, and which it is therefore intended shall be returned when replying. The League Secretary, however, makes it a rule to reply on separate paper, and not to send back such forms, which are kept for reference. We commend this rule to all who have to do with Government departments and especially in connection with Naval and Military pensions and allowances.

The League Secretary next wrote to the Pensions Ministry, asking whether a soldier's widow with the above-mentioned dependants is entitled to the increased pension promised in the Warrant. This letter was dispatched on June 20th. On July 5th a reply was received from the Pensions Ministry stating that "all widows in receipt of Army pension in respect of men killed during the present War are eligible for the increased rate of pension."

The League Secretary replied :—

Sir,—In acknowledging receipt of your letter of 5th July, informing me that the increased rate of pension applies to all widows of men killed during the present War, I need hardly state that I was already aware of this fact. It is a serious matter that a Pensions Officer should have refused the increase, and on having his attention called to the irregularity, that he should have written to me, saying that the increase was only to be granted in "special cases."

The question arises as to whether the officer was aware of the regulation? If not, was he not informed? Is he competent to exercise his duties? If he were aware of the regulation, the matter assumes an even more serious complexion.

There is a growing feeling in the country that a systematic robbery of soldiers' wives and relatives is being carried on, and this incident certainly lends colour to that view. I should be glad to know from you what is the cause of this particular error.

A demand for full pension with arrears followed.

All persons entitled to Military and Naval pensions and separation allowances should join the National League of Rights for Soldiers' and Sailors' whether discharged or in the Service, and for their wives and relatives, 400 Old Ford Road, E.

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A correspondent writes that his son, aged 21, was conscribed in April of last year, though suffering from ear abscess which had troubled him for three years. Though in an agony of pain he was made to do sentry duty in the snow, and sentenced to 14 days' imprisonment because his rifle was not clean Seven days after that he was ordered 14 days' field punishment No. 1 (crucifixion) on the same charge, and shortly afterwards was killed.

BRITISH ALIEN.

Dear Editor,—As one hears so much how the prisoners are being treated in Germany, it might open some people's eyes to see in print how the prisoners are being starved here. My husband is interned in Alexandra Palace, and when I go to visit him he complains very much about the food. One day the doctor said the herrings were not fit to eat, so the men had only rice for dinner. Since then they have refused the herrings three times, and on each day they had nothing but the plain boiled rice for dinner, and only 8 oz. (eight ounces) of bread is allowed each man per day. The men's nerves are in a dreadful state, and there is the danger of a revolt, and one is afraid of what is going to happen then.—Yours, etc.

THE BRITISH-BORN WIFE OF A GERMAN.

MILLY WITCOP

Rose Witcop, Editor of the "Spur," writes on behalf of her sister, Milly Witcop, who a year ago was kidnapped, kept in a Vine St. cell for six days and eventually brought before the Internment Committee after her case had been raised in the House of Commons. Milly Witcop was interned for her part in the agitation against the conscription or deportation to Russia of her compatriots. To-day all are unanimous in congratulating the Russian revolutionaries and in reviling the Government of the Czar. It is therefore but logical to admit the wisdom and righteousness of the Russian refugees who refused to be conscribed on behalf of the Government of the Czar. Yet Milly Witcop and others are still kept prisoners. Rose Witcop writes that her sister is condemned to mix with women who should be kept in isolation wards.

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY

THE CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT BILL.

The Government intends to press on with the Criminal Law Amendment Bill. Women who object to its unequal treatment of men and women should make vigorous protest.

FOR PEACE.

Mrs. H. Clifford, speaking to a meeting of 1,000 women in the Tabernacle, Barking Road, Plaistow, on Monday, July 10th, secured the assent of the women to a letter to Mr. Will Thorne demanding an immediate peace. She said that if London were turned east to west something would be done. She asked the women to go to the House of Commons with her if Parliament did not move soon. We learn this from one who was present at the meeting.

WOMEN FOR THE TRENCHES.

The Women's "Battalion of Death," as it is appropriately named, left Petrograd for the front on July 6th. They were urged on by Lady Buchanan, wife of the British Ambassador. Lady Macworth has written to the "South Wales Daily News" urging British women to send their daughters to France. She says that the State has as much right to claim the daughter as the son. The British women who go to France are *not yet* enlisted for the trenches.

GERMANY AND AUSTRIA

News purporting to come from Germany and Austria must be received with reserve, but undoubtedly grave popular unrest is growing apace, and this fact is forcing the German Liberals to make advances to the Socialists, and to suggest both franchise reform and other social ameliorations at home, and a declaration that Germany is fighting a defensive War and does not desire annexations. It may even be that the Government is being hard pressed to accept the Russian declaration of peace on the basis of "no annexations, no indemnities, and the right of the people to determine their destiny." The desire for peace is undoubtedly very strong in Austria. The German minority Socialists have issued a fine manifesto upon international questions in which there is little to criticise and much to commend.

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The German Reichstag has defeated a woman's franchise resolution, but things are moving in Germany, and the minority Socialists are demanding adult suffrage for women as well as for men.

GREECE.

Free Russia has protested against the forcible substitution of one Greek King for another by Britain, France and Italy. Russia declares that the Greek people have the same right as others to choose their own Government. Greece is now practically governed by the Allies; her independence is gone.

MR. HENDERSON ON RUSSIA.

Mr. Henderson's experiences in Russia have caused him to adopt quite an international-socialist tone. His statement summing up the ideals of Free Russia and suggesting the revision of Allied War aims is in strange contrast to the speeches he has made during the War, and recalls his pre-War declarations. Mr. Henderson is perhaps bold enough to adopt a strong line when the efforts of others have made public opinion ripe for it, but we cannot trust his courage very far.

FOOD AND COAL.

We are glad to see that the distribution of coal to the district nearest the point of production is being organised. This is common sense.

Food, coal and other necessaries are henceforth only to be exported from U.S.A. by permission of the President. This is a preparation against scarcity in America that may hit us very hard. The Neutrals will suffer first, the Allies next.

Lord Rhondda has promised to bring down prices, but London sugar has gone up to 7d. and 8d. per lb.

THE GERMAN COLONIES.

The Anti-Slavery Society rejected a motion by Mr. Noel Buxton, stating that the interests of the natives of the African Colonies captured from Germany would be best secured by a system of international control, which would prohibit the exploitation of native races, discriminating tariffs, and warlike establishments of any kind, except for the purposes of police. Under these conditions the administration of the area might be delegated to the great colonising Powers. An overwhelming allocation of native territories to any one Power would lead to international strife, and it would be bad for the natives. The prohibition of the arming of the natives would prevent the raising of a great black army.

A resolution was carried declaring that the "wishes of the natives must be recognised as amongst the principle factors on which a decision as to their destiny should be based. We fear this is too vague to be of any use as guarantee to the natives. But it is all rather like counting one's chickens before they are hatched.

FRENCH NATIONAL BOOTS AND CLOTHES

The French Minister of Commerce is to provide national boots and clothes for the French people. The boots are to be made of leather odds and ends, the clothes, half wool, half cotton, are to be made of re-manufactured rags. This is a sure sign of national poverty produced by War, but if the poor were to be clothed like the rich some good might come of it.

JUDGE NEIL, U.S.A.

On Sunday, July 22nd, at 7.30 p.m., Judge Neil, of Chicago, will lecture on "Mothers' Pensions" and how he started the scheme in America. The chair will be taken by Mrs. Drake. Admission free. Judge Neil has spoken at many successful meetings all over the country, where his scheme has been very well received.

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

Workers, Male and Female, Organise in the One Big Union of All Workers!

Sectional Unions don't Unite; they Divide.

The I.W.W. organises **all** Workers in each shop.

One Class, One Struggle, One Union, One Enemy, and One Cause.

Call or write to Secretary, at I.W.W. Hall, 76 Whitechapel Road, E.1.

Contributions, 1s. per month. Nothing if Unemployed.

Join the **Fighting Union, the I.W.W.**

ORIGINAL DEFECTIVE.

BABY WEEK IN CHESTER

I was invited to go to Chester to address some open-air meetings in the poorer neighbourhoods by Mrs. Crosland Taylor, in order to bring Baby Week to the notice of the mothers. Probably they would not otherwise have heard of "Baby Week," as not many of them leave their homes or read a paper, although it is *their* babies who are supposed to be cared for as an outcome of "Baby Week."

Meetings were held in Steam Mill Street, Wellington Street, Princes Street, and Weaver Street, and the surrounding neighbourhoods were canvassed to get the real views of the mothers themselves, instead of the official view that is generally advanced. A dozen women gave their names and addresses, and offered to put their position and ideas of improvement before the Mayor of Chester if an interview were secured.

Sheriff Owens and the Town Clerk promised to receive the deputation in the absence of the Mayor. On Saturday morning, June 30th, at the Town Hall, we were received in the Mayor's Parlour, and it appeared that this was the first deputation of working women ever received there.

Mrs. Crosland Taylor, who introduced us, explained that we wished to discuss coals, bread, milk and housing.

The women told how hard the previous winter had been for the children and aged owing to the shortage of coal supplies One woman, referring to the bad bread, said all her family were under the doctor owing to sickness and eruptions caused by it. The milk supply they wished secured for the coming winter, as there was evidence that the farmers, who only thought of profits, not of the children, were killing the animals which should supply it. The housing question was a burning one; full particulars being given to prove that house farming is carried on, rooms being let at 12s. 6d. a room, and whole families were living in each room.

The Sheriff must have realised that these women understood these questions as women of other classes cannot, for no one knows where the shoe pinches only the one that wears it. He promised to give careful consideration to what had been said and to raise the matters put forward at the next Council meeting; also to send recommendations to the Food Controller, the Local Government Board, and other Departments in London.

At the open-air meetings the women said they wanted peace and to have their men folk back. They are heartily sick of the War and everything caused by it. They recognise that though the Government does not give them a chance to look after their babies as they would like to now, when the time comes for Conscription the Government knows where to find their sons, and does not trouble about the struggle the mothers have had to bring them up. The iron is entering the souls of the mothers, and they are turning. C. DRAKE.

THE WORKERS' AND SOLDIERS' COUNCIL

At the conferences arranged by the Provisional Committee of the Workers' and Soldiers' Council, the following resolutions will be submitted:

This Conference, endorsing the resolutions of the Leeds Convention, hails the Russian Revolution, which has liberated the people of Russia for the great work of establishing their own political and economic freedom on a firm foundation, and undertakes to work for an agreement between the international democracies for the re-establishment of a general peace which shall not tend towards either domination by or over any nation, or the seizure of their national possessions, or the violent usurpation of their territories—a peace without annexations or indemnities and based on the right of nations to decide their own affairs. Further, and in agreement with the Leeds Convention, this Conference calls upon the Government of Great Britain to place itself in accord with the democracy of Russia by proclaiming its determination to carry into immediate effect a charter of liberties establishing complete political and social rights for all men and women.

This Conference pledges itself to work for the co-ordination of working class activity in support of a peace made by the peoples of the various countries for the complete political and economic emancipation of international Labour, and for the full application of the programme outlined in the fourth resolution of the Leeds Convention. The Conference further demands from the Government for all Soldiers immediately the right of association and full civil and political liberty. To that end this Conference calls upon the bodies represented at once to establish Workers' and Soldiers' Councils in their own localities. The Conference suggests that wherever possible the Trades Councils should take the initiative, but failing that, or where a Trades Council does not exist, the other bodies in the district should immediately arrange to co-operate in forming a local Workers' and Soldiers' Council.

SCOTTISH DISTRICT CONFERENCE, St. Mungo Hall, South York Street, Glasgow, Saturday, August 11th. Acting local Secretary, Wm. Shaw, 16 Church Street, Partick, Glasgow.

N.E. DISTRICT CONFERENCE, Town Hall, Newcastle, Saturday, July 28th, 3 p.m. Acting local Secretary, Dr. Ethel Williams, 3 Osborne Terrace, Jesmond, Newcastle.

YORKSHIRE DISTRICT CONFERENCE, Leeds. Further particulars later.

LANCASHIRE, CHESHIRE & N. WALES DISTRICT CONFERENCE, Milton Hall, Deansgate, Manchester, Saturday, August 11th, 2.30 p.m. Acting local Secretary, H. Derbyshire, 4 Banff Road, Rusholme, Manchester.

N. & E. MIDLANDS DISTRICT CONFERENCE, Trade Hall, St. James Street, Leicester, Saturday, July 28th, 3 p.m. Acting local Secretaries, 88 Rutland Street, Leicester.

S. & W. MIDLANDS DISTRICT CONFERENCE, Priory Rooms, Upper Priory, near Old Square, Corporation Street, Birmingham, Saturday, August 18th, 3 p.m. Acting local Secretary, Pte. C. J. Simmons.

EAST ANGLIA DISTRICT CONFERENCE, School of Music, Rampant Horse Street, Norwich, Saturday, July 28th, 2.30 p.m. Acting local Secretary, G. F. Hipperson, 91 Connaught Road, Norwich.

LONDON DISTRICT CONFERENCE, Memorial Hall, Farringdon Road, Saturday, July 28th, 3 p.m. Communications to be sent to Secretary, Provisional Committee, 4 Duke Street, Adelphi, London, W.C.2.

SOUTHERN COUNTIES CONFERENCE, Southampton.

BRISTOL CONFERENCE, Kingsley Hall, Old Market Street, Bristol, Saturday, July 28th, 3 p.m. Acting local Secretary, T. C. Lewis, 130 Lawrence Hill, Bristol.

WALES CONFERENCE, the Elysium, High Street, Swansea, July 29th. Acting local Secretary, J. D. Davies, 50 Terrace Road, Swansea.

IRISH CONFERENCE. Further particulars later.

NOMINATIONS FOR DISTRICT REPRESENTATIVES ON THE PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE.

Nominations should be sent in to the local Secretaries not later than the Thursday morning preceding the Conference. Nominations will then be printed and circulated amongst the delegates to the Conference, who will vote by show of hands.

REPRESENTATION AT CONFERENCE.—The basis of representation at the District Conference will be One Delegate for each 5,000 members or part thereof.

The Delegation fee is Two Shillings and Six Pence for each Delegate appointed.

The application for credentials should be sent with the Delegation fees to the District Secretaries.

The District Secretaries will issue the credentials for the District Conferences and attend to all arrangements connected with the Conferences.

Organisations eligible for representation which do not receive the invitation should make immediate application for credentials (W.S.F. Branches, please note). The Provisional Committee hope that every organisation entitled to send Delegates, whether directly invited or not, will be represented at the Conferences.

BODIES ELIGIBLE FOR REPRESENTATION.—Executive Committees of Trade Unions, Branches of Trade Unions, Trades Councils, Local Labour Parties, Socialist Organisations, Branches of Socialist Organisations, Women's Organisations (Industrial and Political), Co-operative Guilds, Democratic bodies, Committees of Workers in Mines, Docks, Factories, Workshops, or engaged in Agriculture, Committees of Shop Stewards, Workers' Suffrage Federation and Branches.

Following on the issue of the constitution of local Workers' and Soldiers' Councils, many local Councils are now in process of formation. A list of such Councils will shortly be published.

TO TRAFALGAR SQUARE

Almost unnoticed midst the events of the War the Government's Bill which embodies the findings of the Speaker's Conference is being passed. Much has been made of the clauses which convey a limited franchise to certain classes of women. But the Labour Movement cannot be satisfied with this. The granting of the franchise to women on a brick and mortar basis of simply playing into the hands of the opponents of adult suffrage, who have urged all along that the passing of a limited measure would put a stop to the more democratic demands. The general body of the working-class movement is unanimous in its demands for complete Adult Suffrage, and in order that the situation may be saved before it is too late, the Workers' Suffrage Federation, in conjunction with the bodies affiliated to form the Workers' National Adult Suffrage Movement, is organising a great demonstration to demand Adult Suffrage and that the House of Lords shall be ended, not mended, as is proposed by another Speaker's Conference. The demonstration is to take place in Trafalgar Square on Sunday afternoon, August 19th, at 3 p.m. Processions are being organised to march to the Square from various points, and it is hoped that every Trade Union will support the demand for the full rights of citizenship.

Mr. Holder, 104 Bathurst Gardens, Willesden, is organising the West London contingent, Mr. Chilton, 14 Ascham Street, Kentish Town, the North and North-west contingent. Further particulars as to the South and East processions and generally may be obtained from the Hon. Sec., Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, 400 Old Ford Road, E.

OUR GREAT PUSH

Eighteen of the 100 black and white Indicators required for advertising the DREADNOUGHT on railway bookstalls and outside newsvendors' shops have already been paid for by:

Already acknowledged	15
Mrs. Minturn Scott	1
"Irene," per Mrs. Drake	2

Each Indicator costs 30s. Eighty-three more are required. Who will pay for the next?

* * * *

At Ammanford, Carmarthen, South Wales, which has a population of only 6,000, 2,000 people gathered in the Palace Theatre to hear Miss Sylvia Pankhurst on Sunday, July 8th. Many hundreds were turned away at the doors. The meeting gave enthusiastic approval to the demand for immediate peace on the basis of no annexations, no indemnities, to Adult Suffrage, the abolition of the House of Lords, and the substitution of an industrial Parliament, Socialism, and the immediate nationalisation of the food supply. Enthusiastic meetings were also held at Blaenau and Gwan Cae Gurgwen.

Clippings of Material of all kinds (must measure at least 5 by 6 inches) can be used in our Toy Factory at 45 Norman Road, Bow, E., and will be most gratefully received if friends will kindly send them.

FOREIGN NEWS

The "Dien," Kerenski's organ, published an article which has caused much excitement in Petrograd. It states that the Russian War Minister had a long conference with the British Ambassador, Buchanan, in which Kerenski asked the British Ambassador most urgently to give up his plans for the restoration of Czardom in Russia. It is an open secret in Russia that the British Ambassador in Petrograd has entered in contact with the reactionary elements in Russia and has endeavoured to excite them against the Provisional Government. The "Dien" says that the desire of the Russian Government for peace has greatly worried Mr. Buchanan, though there is no danger of a separate peace.

RUSSIA A FEDERAL REPUBLIC.

The Finnish Soviet has declared for a Federal Republic for Russia, in which every nationality should have full autonomy. The Soviet declares that the Russian democracy is no obstacle to the progress of Finland, and that the separation of Finland from Russia would be a danger for democracy.

STRIKES IN PARIS.

The carmen in Paris have stopped work. The women workers who make the uniforms for postal and municipal employees are also striking for higher wages.

REVISION OF TREATIES.

The "Temps" publishes the Note of the Russian Government suggesting a conference of the Allies to revise their treaties in regard to war aims and the execution of the Treaty of London. The Note says:—"Russia struggles for the great idea of freedom: her aim is world-peace. No Imperialistic aims can be accepted. Russia is opposed to all ideas of conquest on either side. Russian democracy learns with pleasure that the Allied nations are prepared to meet and to revise their war aims, and suggests that a conference should be convened as soon as possible."

FEAR OF PEACE PROPAGANDA.

Viviani has brought forward a motion in the French Parliament to suppress all peace leaflets.

EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK.

The Socialist deputy Greulich moved in the Swiss Parliament that the Swiss Federation should guarantee to all women employees the same minimum wage as to men. In spite of some opposition the motion was accepted by 56 votes to 23. It was decided that in future the minimum wages for men and women employed by the Swiss Federation should be 1,800 frs. per annum. This decision of the Swiss Parliament will benefit particularly women employed in the telephone service.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION CONFERENCE IN BERNE.

The Swiss Federation of Trade Unions, in agreement with both belligerent groups of nations and the neutral countries, has convoked an International Trade Union Conference, to be held in Berne on October 1st, 1917. The following agenda will be discussed:—(1) Constitution and residence of the International Federation of Trade Unions; (2) motions for the Peace Congress.

ALSACE-LORRAINE.

From "Vorwarts," June 7th:—

"At the meeting of the Alsace-Lorraine Diet, Dr. Ricklin, re-elected as President of the Lower Chamber, addressed the members as follows:'. . . . . The people of Alsace-Lorraine, by a crushing majority, wanted no War . . . what they wanted was to complete the building up of its constitutional position on the basis of its membership of the German Empire . . . On this point the War has altered nothing in our eyes. We make this confession loudly and before the whole world. May it be heard everywhere, and may peace soon be granted to us!'"

From "Kölnische Zeitung" (National-Liberal):—

". . . . . Alsace-Lorraine is represented in the German Reichstag by 15 deputies, Baden having only 14, Hessen 9, Mecklenburg Schwerin 6 . . . . and this Alsace-Lorraine, a reconquered German land, should have to be 'liberated.' Never had Alsace-Lorraine such a free and liberal constitution and such superior institutions as she has to-day in her old home, the 'undemocratic' and 'unfree' German Empire."

AUSTRIAN PEACE DEBATE.

During the debate in the Vienna House of Lords, the Polish deputy Pintinski declared that universal peace can only be obtained from a world congress. Deputy Lammasch, professor of International Law, declared for peace without annexations, which does not exclude exchange of territories or rectifying of frontiers by agreement of the nations in question. Austria-Hungary should declare the following programme: Peace without annexations, limitation of armaments, equal rights for all nations, peaceful arrangements of future international differences.

The new Budget was accepted in the Austrian Parliament by 292 votes to 150.

HANDS OFF THE PEOPLE'S FOOD!

There is a saying that "whom the gods would destroy they first make mad." One might hope that in the case of the profiteers the prophecy might be fulfilled. For nearly three years they have robbed the workers without let or hindrance. The workers are now beginning to realise that no help may be expected from the Government, some of the members of which have helped to fill their own pockets at the workers' expense. In Leeds the newly-formed Profit Boycott Committee has already justified its existence. Huge and enthusiastic meetings are held in all parts of the town and the speakers are always asked to come again. The DREADNOUGHT is eagerly bought by the women folk, who say, "There ought to be more like you." Collections have been most liberal, although naturally our expenditure has been heavy. In this connection it may interest readers to know that soldiers eagerly lent their caps to take the collection. Men and women who never spoke before in their lives have courageously come forward to help in the campaign. Our Secretary, Mr. Walker, is a case in point. He has blossomed into quite an eloquent speaker within a week. The movement has now spread to Bradford and Farsley, and we hope branches of the W.S.F. will get local committees formed in their towns. The time is ripe. Strike while the iron is hot for cheaper foodstuffs! Working women everywhere will support.—JESSIE STEPHEN.

ORIGINAL DEFECTIVE.

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT

July 3rd.—In reply to Mr. David Mason (U.), Lord R. Cecil stated that His Majesty's Government is in communication with the Allies with reference to holding a conference as to the eventual peace terms. We ask them to hurry, else the people will lose patience.

PROFITEER CRIES "PEACE!"

The increase in Excess Profits Duty was the cause of much debating. The unfortunate position of the shipowners was enlarged on by Mr. Holt (L.) and others. Without realising the hidden humour of his remark he said that the people who feel most strongly the injury that will be done to trade by this heavy taxation "had better begin to consider whether the true remedy is not to bring the war to a close, and not to proceed with this taxation." Mr. Holt confirms our allegations that the War would stop if no more profits could be made. Mr. Bonar Law told the House that his investments in shipping brought him in £3,624 in 1915, and for 1916 £3,847, instead of £405, which would have represented five per cent., and that was after paying Excess Profits Duty!

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July 4th.—Mr. Macpherson stated that James Brightmore (C.O.) will not be sent to France.

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Sir A. Griffith-Boscawen announced that the revision of pensions was being proceeded with; that where life pensions have not been revised an application for re-assessment should be made.

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July 5th.—Mr. O'Leary (I.N.) pointed out that Miss Nugent, of Dublin, whose home and business are in America, was refused a passport to return to America. Lord Robert Cecil explained that women and children are not given passports for oversea journeys except in cases of urgent necessity.

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Lord Robert Cecil declared that the Government had decided to claim "adequate reparation" from any neutral country which causes mines to be laid. What are the neutral countries going to claim from the Allies?

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In reply to Mr. Whitehouse (L.), Mr. Brace admitted that Mr. Clifford Allen was now in the prison hospital, being of poor physique. Then why try to put such a man into the Army?

WHITLEY REPORT.

Mr. Bridgman informed the House that the Whitley Report on the relations of employer and employed can be procured through any bookseller for one penny.

INCOME TAX.

On the Committee stage of the Finance Bill, Mr. Will Thorne (Lab.) moved that no income-tax be levied on incomes of less than £150 a year. He urged that £3 a week was the minimum wage for a working man with a family to exist on, since the "purchasing power of the sovereign has been reduced from twenty shillings to eight shillings." In this case £3 a week equals 24s. Would Mr. Thorne like to live on that? Unfortunately Mr. Thorne's amendment was defeated. The War bonus of many workers is swallowed up by the infliction of income-tax.

THE BEER SHORTAGE!

Mr. Leif Jones (L.) moved the adjournment to ask the reasons for the Government decision to increase the output of beer by 33⅓ per cent. He pointed out that the barley used was taken from the people's food, and that more sugar would be required at a time when the daily wants of the people could not be supplied. Mr. Devlin (I.N.) and Mr. Will Thorne (Lab.) both argued in favour of increasing the beer supply, whilst Mr. Thomas (Lab.) was sure that if the people were asked whether food or beer were preferable the answer would be food. Sir G. Cave explained that the Government had to increase the output of beer to avoid strikes, and Mr. Kellaway confirmed this statement. Sir G. Cave said that no more sugar would be allowed to the brewers, and that a far lighter kind of beer would be manufactured. But the Home Secretary must not be left to imagine that merely the demand of the workers, either at munitions or agriculture, has brought about this increase. The workers have agitated for many vital necessities since the beginning of the War. Is not the Government giving in to this agitation to placate the rich brewers on the one hand, and on the other to help the workers to drown their sorrows in beer?

SILVERTOWN REBUILT.

July 6th.—Sir Alfred Mond, the First Commissioner of Works, stated that the reconstruction of Silvertown cost £130,000. Lord Cavendish-Bentinck (U.) very rightly queried the expenditure of so much money "when it perpetuates conditions so gravely prejudicial to the public health." Sir Alfred Mond regretted that it was not possible to build a garden suburb during the War. But since the Government insists on no improvements, a more hygienic reconstruction will hardly be expected from capitalists, who only consider whether their factories can be kept going.

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Mr. Hogge (L.) complained that the girls in the Boulogne unit of the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps are deprived of the same freedom as other girls in Government offices. They are even forbidden to speak to officers, even when they are relatives.

CONTROL OF EXPENDITURE.

Major Collins (L.) suggested forming a Committee of the House to check the expenditure, in view of the unaccountable increase in the daily War expenditure. After many speeches being made in support of action to give the House of Commons more control, Mr. Bonar Law announced his readiness to appoint a Select Committee to inquire into the best way of examining the method of expenditure. The House seemed satisfied with this result.

IRISH CONVENTION.

The Irish Convention is to meet on July 25th Mr. Lloyd George announced. Since no Chairman has been decided upon, Mr. Duke is to act as temporary Chairman until the Convention elects one.

SUGAR.

July 9th.—Mr. Field (I.N.) drew attention to the fact that beet grown in Ireland gives a greater yield of saccharine than in "most other countries," and urged the starting of the sugar industry there. Mr. Duke, however, is waiting to be asked by the Department of Agriculture for a grant. We always thought he knew little of the Irish difficulties: the Department is one of them!

MESOPOTAMIA.

The adjournment of the House will be moved on Thursday, when the Mesopotamia Report will be debated.

ALLIED CONFERENCE.

In reply to Mr. Trevelyan (L.), Mr. Balfour said that the date and composition of the Conference to revise the Allied War aims is being considered by the Allied Governments.

OH!

It is the policy of His Majesty's Government to leave other countries "to manage their own domestic affairs in the manner they think best." This statement was made by Mr. Balfour when asked about the rumours that His Majesty's Government was trying to cause a revolution in Spain. Does Mr. Balfour forget about Greece, to mention the most recent case of interference on the part of Great Britain?

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Mr. Trevelyan (L.) again called attention to the imprisonment of Mrs. Skinner and Mrs. Hayes for distributing leaflets demanding Peace by Negotiations. One of the leaflets contained quotations from the manifesto of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates of Russia. Sir G. Cave argued that the leaflets he had seen were not such as ought to be distributed amongst soldiers!

EQUAL PAY.

Mr. Munro stated the salaries paid in nineteen Catholic primary schools in Scotland which showed gross inequalities of pay: The male principal at St. Francis's is paid £212, whilst the woman principal gets only £130.

THE PETROFFS.

Mr. King (L.) urged that the time had come to release Peter Petroff, but, instead of so doing, the Government was putting greater restrictions on him by not allowing him to communicate with his wife in Aylesbury Gaol. She is a German and is compelled to consort with German prostitutes, which makes Mr. King exceedingly indignant. What is very terrible is that some of these women suffer from venereal disease, and Mrs. Petroff is obliged to use the same bath after them! Sir G. Cave said that Petroff was favourable to the German Government, and that he could see no reason why he should be released. As for his wife, the allegations made were quite untrue.

THE CASE OF THE "C.O."

On the Home Office Vote, Mr. Whitehouse (L.) pointed out that men of the type of Mr. Clifford Allen and Mr. Stephen Hobhouse ought not to be sent to prison time after time. Mr. King (L.), too, joined with him in requesting their liberation. But Sir G. Cave urged that it was the business of the Home Office to enforce law and order "with all regard to the considerations of humanity." What about Ribiero, Brightmore, and the others who are subjected to the inhuman treatment so often recounted in our pages!

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The House sat in secret session to discuss the air raid.

and, as he put it, "You only want a sweeping majority to carry great contentious legislation," and, as a Conservative man, he is opposed to great contentious legislation. He truly said that the House of Commons has fallen in public estimation; he thought that this was due to the exaggeration of the Party system.

Sir Thomas Whittaker (L.), on the other hand, violently opposed P.R., though it appeared that he had voted for it to be applied to Ireland under the Home Rule Bill. He said that proportional representation was desired in order to hamstring legislation, because legislation could not be carried through without large majorities. Moreover, he did not want the House to be a mirror of public opinion; he thought it would contain too many cranks if it were. He believed in strong Governments with big majorities behind them. Sir F. E. Smith, the Attorney-General, in supporting P.R., said that new issues, new controversies, new parties, were going to determine the future, and that P.R. was "the one chance of salvation" of those who thought themselves concerned to maintain the centre of gravity of the State. Of course, he meant the capitalist State as we know it to-day.

WHY SOME SUPPORT P.R.

The opinions of politicians of the old school, whose lodestar is the capitalist system, seem largely to be divided on P.R. according to whether, or not, they believe that the working class will shortly use the franchise with an awakened class-consciousness. Those who believe that all workers will shortly vote as workers, and that only the employing classes will vote in the interests of capitalism, frequently desire P.R. as the last hope of maintaining the representation of employers. On the other hand, men who cannot conceive of a majority of intelligently class-conscious workers frequently oppose P.R., fearing that it may let into Parliament representatives of the awakened minority. Some of the P.R. advocates are men who genuinely desire reform, but believe that the reforming element of any day will always fail to secure majority support. Probably that is true, for even when capitalism has been abolished there will still be new worlds of human effort to conquer, some of which are to-day beyond our ken.

Much has been said as to the possibility of the Bill being wrecked if P.R. should fail to carry. Mr. Scott (U.) declared that proportional representation, on the one hand, was the make-weight for the second vote of the business man, on the other. If P.R. were dropped, the Liberal and Labour Parties might oppose the dual vote. We wish that either of these Parties might display that degree of independent spirit and adherence to principles! Mr. Walter Long (C.), Colonial Secretary, protested that it was outrageous to say that members who might vote against P.R. would not be "playing the game" in regard to the compromise. If his colleagues in the Government had decided that the compromise must be accepted as a whole or not at all, he would have voted for all; but they had not done so, they had left P.R. and Votes for Women to a free vote of the House. He had voted for Women's Suffrage, though he was opposed to it, and to maintain the vote for C.O.s though he desired to disfranchise them, in order to preserve the Bill; but he would not also vote for P.R. He protested: "Does anybody suppose, however low they may rate my intellectual capacity, that I am to abandon all the convictions I have held for forty years of political life in a moment?" It was the strike against further progress of a sluggish Conservative temperament that has been pushed for a little distance along its rut.

P.R. was defeated by 169 votes to 201. Mr. C. Roberts (L.), then asked that the House should report progress in order that the position of P.R. in regard to university representation might be considered. It would be a serious thing if it were defeated, and he for one "might think twice" before assenting to the creation of new university seats. Unless the university representatives were to be elected by P.R., serious consequences to university representation and to the Bill itself might follow.

THE FRANCHISE BILL

CHAMBERLAINHAM?

Mr. Austen Chamberlain (C.) made a most extraordinary and, indeed, extravagant claim in the debate on Proportional Representation in Committee on the Franchise Bill on July 4th. In opposing P.R., he said:

"Take a big city like . . . . Birmingham. . . . The minority has every chance. If it is not strong enough to get a single seat out of seven or twelve, then it is not our business. . . . I do not want the Committee to misunderstand what I say about Birmingham. Nothing but the peculiar circumstances and the singular unanimity of agreement would have enabled the Liberal Party in the old days when I first watched politics, or the Unionist Party in the later days when I took part in them, to carry the whole of the Birmingham seats. I have great personal interests, singular personal interests, and am bound by public service to the community. I might add that if we can preserve single-member constituencies, when we emerge from the welter of War all the twelve seats in Birmingham will go to that Party, wherever it is, with which my fortunes are joined. I am not anxious lest, if I stand for Birmingham under one or the other system, I shall fail to find a seat, but I say that you are stultifying our whole traditions."

No Czar or Kaiser could speak with greater arrogance! Do the people of Birmingham agree that Mr. Austen Chamberlain is the keeper of their minds and consciences? Have they no intelligence, no desires and aspirations of their own? What community of interest is there between Mr. Austen Chamberlain and the sweated home-workers and other Birmingham wage-slaves that they should vote as he directs? But even though community of interest existed, Birmingham might as well be disfranchised if the citizens are to be merely voting automata directed by Mr. Chamberlain. We believe, however, that Mr. Chamberlain has entirely miscalculated the future. We believe that the general popular awakening to the knowledge that the workers have been the exploited pawns of the capitalists in this War, will not fail to reach the people of Birmingham. Surely some of them had sons, husbands, and brothers in Mesopotamia!

Mr. Chamberlain told the House that the caucus had its birth in Birmingham, and that at the first election he ever attended a song was sung with the refrain:

"We'll carry them in: we vote as we are told."

If Mr. Chamberlain counts on the perpetuation of that spirit he is living in a fool's paradise. May the awakening be soon!

MR. ASQUITH.

Mr. Asquith (L.) came forward as a supporter of P.R. He said that this was one of the few things on which he had never committed himself, and as to which he had "no words to eat" and "no professions to recall." This certainly was a new experience for him. He expressed himself as most anxious that the House of Commons should be "a reflection of the general opinion of the nation," but he probably expressed what was nearer to his heart when he advocated Proportional Representation as a "mitigation or precautionary measure," in view of the placing on the register of 8,000,000 new voters. Lord Robert Cecil (U.) also supported P.R., partly because he believes that it will prevent any Party gaining a great Parliamentary majority,

MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS

FAMILY LIMITATION DOCTRINE. Post free, 1½d.—Malthusian League, Queen Anne's Chambers, Westminster.

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WHAT'S ON?
W.S.F. FIXTURES
OUTDOOR

FRIDAY, JULY 13th.
St. Stephen's Road, Bow, 7 p.m., Mrs. Cressall.
SATURDAY, JULY 14th.
Hoxton Street, 3 p.m., Rev. Cheetham, Miss Beamish.
SUNDAY, JULY 15th.
Osborn St. Whitechapel, 11.30 a.m., Mrs. Walker.
Highbury Corner, 11.30 a.m., Miss Lynch. (Joint meeting with B.S.P.).
Victoria Park, 4 p.m., Mrs. Cressall and others.
Hyde Park, 6 p.m., Mrs. Drake.
The Square, Woolwich, 7 p.m., Mrs. Walker.
Hoe Street, Walthamstow, 7.30 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier. (Joint meeting with Trades and Labour Council).
TUESDAY, JULY 17th.
"The Peacock," Custom House, 7 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier.
THURSDAY, JULY 19th.
"Whitehouse," Canning Town, 7.30 p.m., Mrs. Drake.
FRIDAY, JULY 20th.
Beckton Road, 7 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier.
Highbury Corner, 7.30 p.m., Mrs. Cressall.
SATURDAY, JULY 21st.
"Abbey Arms," Canning Town, 7.30 p.m., Mrs. Walker.

INDOOR

BOW WOMEN'S HALL.—Wednesday next, 8 p.m. Singing Class.

49 CREDITON ROAD, TIDAL BASIN.—Wednesday next, 8 p.m., Branch Meeting.

ST. STEPHEN'S SHOP, 85 Hoxton Street (a few minutes' walk from Shoreditch Church or from Old Street Station). Thursday, July 19th, 8.15 p.m., Mrs. Cressall.

53 ST. LEONARD'S STREET, BROMLEY.—Monday next, 2 p.m., Mrs. Drake.

BOW SOCIAL.

Social and Dance in aid of general funds, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, on Saturday, July 21st, 1917, 7 p.m. A short entertainment will be given by Bow and Poplar children. Songs, dancing, games. Tickets 6d. each. Refreshments.

HOXTON SOCIAL.

Social and dance will be held at St. Stephen's Shop, 85 Hoxton Street, on Thursday, July 26th, from 8-11 p.m. Music. Speech by Mrs. Drake. Tickets, 4d. (including tax).

WHITECHAPEL MEETING.

Public meeting will be held in the Lecture Hall, Toynbee Hall, Commercial Street, Whitechapel, on Monday, July 30th, at eight p.m. Speakers: Miss Sylvia Pankhurst and others.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS

KINGSLEY HALL, BOW.—Sunday next, 8.15 p.m. Speaker, Mr. Francis Meynell. Discussion, 9.30.

Donations to be sent to the Hon. Treasurer, Mr. Edgar Lansbury, or to the Hon. Financial Secretary, Miss N. L. Smyth, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.
All parcels to 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.

GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED

GENERAL FUND.—Aberdare District Miners' Federation per Mr. Illtyd Hopkins, £5; Miss Sarah Birch, £2; J. D. Birchall, Esq., £1 11s. 6d.; Mrs. J. D. Pearce £1 1s.; Mrs. Gladys Schütze, £1; Misses Mann (monthly), £1; Irene, per Mrs. Drake (weekly), £1; Mr. and Mrs. Errington, £1; Mrs. Mary Parr, 10s.; Miss Green 10s.; Mrs. Hyde, 10s.; Miss A. Goodall, 6s.; J. A. Morton, Esq., 5s.; Mr. and Mrs. Conyer, 2s. COLLECTIONS: Mrs. Boyce, 19s. 7d.; Mrs. Walker, 6s.

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CLOTHES.—Miss Gliksten. PRAM.—Mrs. Brixey.

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SUNDAY, JULY 22nd, SOUTH WEST HAM DISTRICT—Meet: BECKTON ROAD, 3 p.m.; Meetings: Open Air—BECKTON ROAD, 3 p.m.; LEES HALL, 7.30 p.m.: JUDGE NEIL on MOTHERS' PENSIONS. Secretary for the day: Miss LYNCH, 400 Old Ford Road, E.3.

SATURDAY, JULY 28th, WATERLOO ROAD DISTRICT—Meet: 3.30 p.m.; Meeting: 7 p.m. Secretary for the day: Miss LYNCH.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 4th, HOXTON AND SHOREDITCH DISTRICT—Meet: 85 HOXTON STREET, N. 3.30 p.m.; Meeting: WHITMORE HEAD, 7 p.m. Secretary for the day: Miss BEAMISH, 85 Hoxton Street.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 11th, ST. PANCRAS DISTRICT—Meet: 3.30 p.m.; Meeting: 7 p.m. Secretary for the day:

SATURDAY, AUGUST 18th, WEST CENTRAL AND HYDE PARK DISTRICT—Meet: 3.30 p.m.; Meeting: HYDE PARK, 6 p.m. Secretary for the day:

PEACE DEMONSTRATION
Sunday, September 16th.
Secretary: Mr. HAROLD J. LANE.
WORKERS WANTED!

NATIONAL LEAGUE OF RIGHTS
Help to secure better treatment for the victims of International folly.
MORE WORKERS WANTED in writing & organising.

ADULT SUFFRAGE AND DOWN WITH THE HOUSE OF LORDS
GREAT TRAFALGAR SQUARE DEMONSTRATION
SUNDAY, AUGUST 19th
Organised by W.S.F. and Workers National Adult Suffrage Movement.
Secretary: Miss SYLVIA PANKHURST
WORKERS WANTED!

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Proportional Representation!
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